

Herald Tribune

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Established 1887

Austria	10 S.	Lebanon	21.00
Belgium	15 S.	Luxembourg	36 L.F.
Denmark	8 D.K.	Morocco	2 D.
France	11 F.	Netherlands	1.35 Flor.
Germany	12 D.M.	Nigeria	4.2
Greece	10 P.	Portugal	10 Esc.
India	Rs. 4.30	Spain	25 Ptas.
Iran	30 Rials	Sweden	2.5 S.Kr.
Italy	250 Lire	Switzerland	1.50 S.Fr.
Japan	136 Yen	Turkey	7.27
South Korea	100 Wons	U.S. Military (Sur.)	80.35
Soviet Union	1 R.	Yugoslavia	7.50 D.

Waiters
Her...
TODAY'S WEATHER FORECAST - PARIS:
Today: Partly cloudy, 15-18 (59-64). Tomorrow: Partly cloudy, 14-17 (57-63).
Wednesday: Partly cloudy, 13-16 (55-61). Thursday: Partly cloudy, 12-15 (54-59).
Friday: Partly cloudy, 11-14 (53-57). Saturday: Partly cloudy, 10-13 (52-55).
Sunday: Partly cloudy, 9-12 (51-54).
Additional weather - COMING PAGE

Kissinger Gets Down To Details

Reports Progress In Syrian Talks

By Bernard Gwertzman

JERUSALEM, May 12 (NYT).—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said today that he and Syrian leaders had gone on the general to "a detailed and complete examination" of all the issues in the Syrian-Israeli conflict. He said that the progress made in the talks was "significant" and that he was "optimistic" about the prospects for a final agreement. Kissinger said that he had met with Syrian officials in Damascus and that they had agreed to a "cease-fire" in the Golan Heights. He said that the talks had been "very productive" and that he was "pleased" with the results. Kissinger said that he was "confident" that a final agreement could be reached in the near future. He said that the talks had been "very productive" and that he was "pleased" with the results. Kissinger said that he was "confident" that a final agreement could be reached in the near future. He said that the talks had been "very productive" and that he was "pleased" with the results.



PLEASE THE CROWD - A jubilant President Nixon with Sen. Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., as they were welcomed by crowd in Enid, Okla., on Saturday. Later in the day the President addressed the Oklahoma State College graduating class in Stillwater.

Defense Chief Pessimistic in Visit

Mozambique Worries Junta Aide

By Henry Kamm

NAMPULA, Mozambique, May 12 (NYT).—The defense chief in Portugal's ruling military junta expressed pessimism this evening at the end of daylong talks at the headquarters of the army fighting the nationalist rebels, about Portugal's ability to "hold" Mozambique. The general replied, "There are many people there whose thinking is close to ours in metropolitan Portugal."

Schmidt Reports Accord

Bonn Coalition Said to Agree On Policies, Cabinet Makeup

BONN, May 12 (AP).—Chancellor-designate Helmut Schmidt announced today that he had reached an agreement with the Social Democratic party on a new coalition cabinet late today as a prominent colleague in the Social Democratic party denied that he had urged Willy Brandt to resign as chancellor.

Italians Go To Polls in Force

On First Day of Divorce Vote

By Paul Hoffmann

ROME, May 12 (NYT).—Italians turned out in strength today to vote during the first 16-hour part of a two-day referendum on divorce. Voting took place from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. in generally good weather today, and will run from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. tomorrow. Far-reaching political consequences are expected from the vote, whatever the result. If either the pro-divorce or anti-divorce side should win by a large majority, which is considered unlikely, the ensuing tensions could quickly lead to the fall of the government formed by Premier Mariano Rumor only eight weeks ago.

Nixon Asks House to Move Promptly on Impeachment

Ford Asserts He Is Loyal To President

By Marjorie Hunter

COLLEGE STATION, Tex., May 12 (NYT).—Vice-President Ford said yesterday that he had assured President Nixon on Friday that he was not among those "trying to jump off his ship of state."

Discussing what he called "a long talk" that he had Friday with the President, Mr. Ford said that some of his recent speeches touching on the Watergate affair had been misinterpreted by the news media.

The Vice-President's comments, in a commencement address at Texas A & M University, appeared to confirm reports that Mr. Nixon had expressed some unhappiness over his Vice-President's comments about the White House handling of the Watergate matter.

Mr. Ford said yesterday that he told Mr. Nixon, during a one-hour private meeting in the White House, that he had been trying to assure this year's college graduates "that the government in Washington isn't about to sink."

Question of Being
The Vice-President noted that in a commencement address a week ago at his alma mater, the University of Michigan, he had been asked when he spoke of the Watergate affair.

"The next day," Mr. Ford said, "I read about the boomer because I was defending the President of the United States for exercising his right to take his case to the people."

Earlier Speech
The Vice-President also noted that three days ago, in a commencement address at Eastern Illinois University, "I talked about corruption in government, which happens in Cook County (Chicago) as well as Washington, and how college students now armed with the vote ought to pitch in and clean up our political processes by participating in them."

The next day, Mr. Ford continued, "the news stories said I was making my sharpest attacks to date on the President of the United States and trying to line myself up with those who are trying to jump off his ship of state without exactly saying so."

Apparent Contradiction
At a news conference, Friday, in Buffalo, N.Y., hours after meeting with Mr. Nixon in Washington, the Vice-President said that he and the President had not discussed the growing demands by key Republicans that Mr. Nixon resign.

Yet, his speech here yesterday indicated that the subject of Republican defections from Mr. Nixon's "ship of state" was discussed at that private meeting.

Later, the Vice-President told a warmly enthusiastic group of Republicans in Houston that his reading of the transcripts of the White House conversations had convinced him that Mr. Nixon was innocent of any wrongdoing in the Watergate affair or its subsequent cover-up.



EXTRAORDINARY PRESS CONFERENCE - Julie Nixon Eisenhower, with husband, David, declaring in Washington that her father will not resign under any circumstances.

49% of Americans Support Impeachment, Survey Finds

NEW YORK, May 12 (AP).—A Harris poll taken after the release of the White House transcripts shows that 49 percent of Americans surveyed want President Nixon "impeached and removed from office" and that 41 percent support him.

Just before the edited conversations about Watergate were made public, 42 percent favored the President's removal, while an equal 42 percent backed him, according to the poll.

The majority of the 1,555 adults polled May 7-9-60-24 percent—did not believe the transcripts proved that "the President had no knowledge of the White House Watergate cover-up," the poll said.

By 63-37 percent, those polled also did not believe Mr. Nixon's contention that "the transcripts prove he wanted everything about Watergate to be known and nothing to be held back," it said.

Other findings were:
• A 64-36 percent majority felt the President "knew about the attempt to cover up White House involvement in the Watergate case." By 57-43 percent, the respondents thought Congress should remove him from office for such an offense.

• By 55-45 percent, those questioned thought Mr. Nixon "knew that key Watergate tapes were either destroyed or partly destroyed to himself was erased." And a 54-46 percent majority thought such an act could be legitimate reason for removal.

• By a 52-48 percent majority, the poll respondents believed Mr. Nixon "allowed the 18 1/2 minutes to be erased from the taped conversation between himself and H. R. Haldeman a few days after the Watergate break-in." A 51-49 percent majority felt this was an offense meriting impeachment and removal from office.

• By 61-39 percent, those polled believed the President "signed back-dated tax forms claiming a deduction for giving away his vice-presidential papers, claiming tax credits a year after the law had been changed." A 53-47 percent majority said such an offense was sufficient grounds for impeachment and removal.

• By 55-45 percent, the majority believed Mr. Nixon "knew about and did not object to paying the original Watergate defendants hush money to keep them quiet." By 57-43 percent, they thought this act was grounds for impeachment and removal from office.

• By 64-36 percent, those polled rejected Mr. Nixon's contention that, with the "turning over of the 1,300 pages of edited transcripts of the tapes, Congress now has all the information it needs to judge his guilt or innocence."

7 Killed in Lisbon Bar

LISBON, May 12 (Reuters).—Five men and two women were killed in an explosion in a Lisbon bar last night, police said today. Five others were seriously injured. The blast was caused by a gas leak, according to police.

In Oklahoma, Vows 'Never' To Give Up

By Carroll Kilpatrick

STILLWATER, Okla., May 12 (UPI).—President Nixon received a warm welcome when he arrived here last night and he assured an airport crowd that he would "never give up."

Later, at Oklahoma State University, he told the graduating class he hopes the House can move promptly on the impeachment investigation so the President and Congress "can get on with the people's business."

Meanwhile, at the White House yesterday, Julie Nixon Eisenhower said that her father will wage his battle to remain in office "constitutionally down the wire" as long as even one senator still believes in him. Mrs. Eisenhower was attempting to counter rumors which have swept Washington predicting that the President would resign.

On his arrival at Vance Air Force Base near here, several thousand persons cheered the President.

"Hang in There"
In a brief airport speech, Mr. Nixon said that, as he shook hands in the crowd on his way to the podium, people said to him: "Hang in there, we are with you."

"Believe me, that does your heart good," Mr. Nixon said. "I have that old Oklahoma spirit. I've got it down deep in my heart, and we never give up."

The estimated 30,000 persons in the college stadium enthusiastically applauded the President, but several hundred boomed and shouted "Liar," "Pay your taxes!" and other such remarks.

University President Robert Kamm had banned signs and placards from the stadium, and in introducing Mr. Nixon, Mr. Kamm said that Mr. Nixon had come to the campus "as President and as a fellow human being."

Mr. Kamm said Mr. Nixon should be treated with "the affection and respect due one who has given so much in public service."

Critics Depart
When the President began speaking, most of the critics marched out of the stadium in an orderly manner.

Only a few anti-Nixon placards and pro-Nixon posters were seen. But before the President arrived, demonstrators for and against him paraded outside the stadium.

Some students had protested the invitation to the President, but this area is overwhelmingly Republican. The President carried this congressional district by more than 2 1/2 to 1 in 1972.

Mr. Nixon made only a passing reference to the demonstrators, saying he noted that there are "some here who disagree and others who approve."

His only reference to Watergate was when he said he knew many persons "are concerned about political problems in Washington."

All the Evidence
"I can say that, having presented all the evidence to the House of Representatives, I hope it will act promptly so the President and Congress can get on with the people's business, as we should."

The speech emphasizes the prospects of peace in the world and economic progress at home. He stressed the importance of a strong America to safeguard peace.

He appeared very tired as he delivered his speech, probably reflecting the last grueling week.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Kissinger Hotel Loses Its Bloom

JERUSALEM, May 12 (AP).—The King David Hotel, host to Israel's most famous guests and now the Jerusalem headquarters of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, added a gloomy chapter to its illustrious history this weekend. Opium poppies were found growing in its garden.

Police said three gardeners and another hotel employee were arrested for growing the drug-producing plants.

An Israeli security agent guarding Mr. Kissinger accidentally discovered the plants on a stroll during a quiet moment, police said.

The guard remarked to a policeman friend on the beauty of the colorful poppy flower, but when the policeman looked more closely he found that the plants had bits, indicating that they had been "milked" for narcotics.

The gardeners denied any guilt and said the flowers had been growing there for years, police said.



A group of nuns awaiting their turn to vote in Rome in divorce referendum yesterday.

Sense of Shame Seen by Kennedy

CHICAGO, May 12 (Reuters).—Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., said last night that every American felt a deepening sense of shame and outrage at each new Watergate disclosure.

But Sen. Kennedy said he would not urge President Nixon to resign and felt constitutional procedures on impeachment should be allowed to take their course.

"The White House transcripts are only the latest revelation of the sordid misuse of the people's faith in those at the highest levels of our government," he said in a dinner speech here.

Chronicle of Dissidents Reappears in Moscow

By Robert C. Kaiser

MOSCOW, May 12 (UPI).—The "Chronicle of Human Rights," the unofficial journal prepared by Moscow dissidents and suppressed in 1973 by the KGB, has reappeared after a hiatus of 18 months.

Three new issues of the chronicle—which contains news of dissident activities, official repression and reports from prison camps and psychiatric hospitals—have reached Western newsmen here. Their appearance is a direct challenge to the political police who have spent two years or more trying to eradicate the chronicle and imprison those responsible for it.

With few exceptions, the news in these three new editions had already reached Western reporters in Moscow. Thus the reappearance of the chronicle is more noteworthy than the information it contains.

Dissidents suggested that the

new issues were brought out primarily as a symbolic gesture of defiance to the KGB, which probably believed it had succeeded in snuffing out the chronicle. Several dissident sources acknowledged that the reappearance of the chronicle is misleading, since the KGB has succeeded in decimating the group that helped assemble and distribute it in its earlier life, which lasted from April, 1968, to October, 1972.

'Movement' Is Weaker

Some members of the tiny band of active dissidents believe it was a mistake to bring out new numbers of the chronicle now, since it is likely to infuriate the KGB and prompt a new round of searches, arrests and trials. The mere appearance of the new issues, the dissidents say, will not alter the fact that their "movement" is weaker than it has been at any time since the mid-1960s.

Ceausescu Ousts Five Members of Defense Council

BUCHAREST, May 12 (UPI).—President Nicolae Ceausescu has ousted five members of the National Defense Council in line with a government reshuffle six weeks ago. Western diplomats said.

The dismissed officials are former Premier Ion Maurer and former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Virgil Trofin, Paul Niclescu-Mizil, Gheorghe Radulescu and Mihai Marinescu. They will be replaced by Emil Draganescu, Stefan Andrei, Gheorghe Oprea, Ion Koman and Constantin Oprita, a government spokesman said. The new members all hold top jobs in the Communist party.

The diplomats said the changes had been expected and were a further step in Mr. Ceausescu's recent purge aimed at filling important positions with his staunch supporters and returning men like Mr. Maurer who had been critical of some of his policies.

Chou Is Absent From Dinner for Pakistan Leader

TOKYO, May 12 (AP).—Chinese Premier Chou En-lai did not attend a state dinner tonight that he was to have given for visiting Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan, a Peking broadcast reported.

The official Chinese news agency gave no reason for the 76-year-old Chinese leader's absence. Earlier, however, Mr. Chou and his wife met with Mr. Bhutto in private. Mr. Chou was quoted as saying, "I am not very well, because I am old now." According to Radio Pakistan, Mr. Chou's doctors have advised him to take a "complete rest."

On Thursday, Mr. Chou was unable to attend a state dinner for Senegal President Leopold Senghor because of illness.

Pakistan correspondents accompanying the official party reported that Mr. Chou and Mr. Bhutto met for two hours earlier today and they planned to meet again tomorrow. Mr. Chou said Mr. Bhutto twice yesterday but did not greet the visiting Pakistani leader upon his arrival at Peking Airport.

Italy Is Warned In Tito Speech

LJUBLJANA, Yugoslavia, May 12 (AP).—In a clear reference to Yugoslavia's dispute with Italy over Trieste, President Tito said yesterday that hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs were ready to fight at a moment's notice to defend Yugoslav territory.

Speaking to partisan veterans, members of a civilian army that would mount resistance in the event of war, President Tito said that "the unity of our people has solidified" due to recent encroachment on Yugoslav territory.

Israel Warns Lebanon Again Over Guerrillas

TEL AVIV, May 12 (Reuters).—Information Minister Shimon Peres warned again today that Israel would not stand by and allow Lebanon to be used as a center for Arab guerrilla activities.

Mr. Peres was addressing a memorial service in the town of Kiryat Shmona for 18 persons killed during a guerrilla raid a month ago. The three guerrillas who carried out the raid were reported to have crossed into Israel from Lebanon, which Israeli forces later raided.



FENCED IN—Muscovites peeping through wall that was erected around Red Square.

Red Square Parades Lead to Its Undoing

MOSCOW, May 12 (AP).—Red Square has withstood battles, beheadings and the light cavalry of the Golden Horde, but it cannot take the ponderous tread of the Red Army.

The square has been closed until November for what Pravda said was "repairs and construction work." It was sealed off by a high fence today and was cluttered with cranes, trucks and bulldozers. And it appeared as if they might be getting

ready to dismantle Lenin's tomb block by red granite block.

Although government press officials said they could not elaborate on the brief Pravda announcement, a usually reliable Soviet source had an explanation.

He said the earthen bed of the stone-paved square had to be reinforced because it was beginning to sag.

Red Square was not designed to support the passage of the tanks, guns and intercontinental

rockets that are paraded across the cobbles every Nov. 7. The facelift is being carried out behind a 7-foot-tall wooden fence which has very few knots in it.

Behind a door cut in the fence, a uniformed guard with the shoulder boards of the secret police checks the papers of workers going in and out. "What are they doing in there?" a Western reporter asked him.

"Nothing. Go away," he said and shut the door.

Syria Talks On Golan Go Into Details

(Continued from Page 1)

returning to Israel with detailed considerations.

He added that he would return to Damascus Tuesday. He said the atmosphere of the talks "was very friendly."

Mr. Kissinger will either remain in Israel tomorrow or make another side trip, perhaps to Iran.

The most significant development in the eyes of both Syrian and American officials was the participation in the talks for the first time of two major Syrian military leaders, Mustafa Tlas, the Syrian Defense Minister, and Maj. Gen. Najib Jamil, the chief of staff of the Syrian Air Force.

Also in the meeting were Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam, and the Syrian military intelligence chief, Hikmat al-Shihabi. On the American side with Mr. Kissinger was Joseph Sisco, under secretary of state for political affairs.

Jordan Views Given

BEIRUT, May 12 (Reuters).—Jordan Premier Zaid Rifal has disclosed that Jordan has turned down an Israeli offer to withdraw from the occupied West Bank in return for retaining military positions in the region.

Mr. Rifal made this disclosure to a team of Lebanese journalists in Amman yesterday and his statements were published in a number of Beirut papers today.

He also disclosed that Jordan turned down an offer by the Palestine Liberation Organization to establish a dialogue between the two sides provided certain conditions were met.

Mr. Rifal said that Jordan wants a disengagement agreement with Israel and said: "We mean Israel's withdrawal from along the River Jordan, from the north to the Dead Sea, and to a distance westward to be agreed upon."

Golan Heights Battle

DAMASCUS, May 12 (UPI).—Syrian and Israeli forces fought "fierce and intensive" artillery battles on the Golan Heights front today.

Military communiques broadcast by Damascus radio said Syrian heavy guns and rockets pounded Israeli positions in several sectors of the Golan Heights and on the slopes of Mount Hermon.

Brandt Asks Public to Fight 'Evil, Slandering Campaign'

BERLIN, May 12 (NYT).—Willy Brandt appealed to the public yesterday for the first time since his resignation to fight what he called "an evil and slandering campaign of defamation" that was staged "to finish me off morally."

The former chancellor came to West Berlin for celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the lifting of the Soviet blockade of Berlin and to address a conference of his Social Democratic party. Speaking to several thousand party workers, Mr. Brandt said that "unbelievable" stories were being spread about him, culminating in allegations that he had given orders to use public funds to keep a book from being published.

"These poisonous coals will soon be unmasked," he added. "In the meantime, I offer you the good advice not to be taken in by them." In an impressive show of loyalty, the party officials gave him a five-minute standing ovation as he took the rostrum at the Palace Hall.

He pledged that he would stay on as party chairman and he called on party officials to "fight hard" to overcome the present difficulties. "I need your support now more than ever," he said.

Mr. Brandt resigned last Monday, taking responsibility for the presence of an East German agent, Guenter Guillaume, on his staff. That matter has since been overshadowed by reports of alleged extramarital romances.

"I am not a hermit and I have never claimed to be free of human frailties," Mr. Brandt said to applause from the party workers. "But I will not be brought down by these abominable methods with which some enemies now want to finish me off. And I know that beyond my own party, the decent Germans stand at my side. The former chancellor's wife, Rut, accompanied him on the trip to Berlin.

Defense-Aid Cut In Europe Fought By Schlesinger

HOT SPRINGS, Va., May 12 (Reuters).—Defense Secretary James Schlesinger said Friday night that the United States should not reduce its defense contribution to Europe.

He was not sure that America's European allies would spend more on defense in real terms—after an adjustment for increased costs—in the coming fiscal year, beginning July 1, because of the impact of inflation and the energy crisis.

He said morale was generally low among the Western European democracies. West Germany continued to be the strongest European element of NATO, but there were weaknesses among the smaller allies, Mr. Schlesinger said.

"I think the inference that one should draw from this is that, in this period of uncertainty, it is ill behooves the U.S. to add to the difficulties by contemplating reductions in our direct contributions to the defense of our allies," Mr. Schlesinger said.

He said he would resist any attempts to further cut spending on defense. In the budget for the 1975 fiscal year, he said, the Pentagon had "scramped a little" on its five-year defense program.

19 Hurt in Ulster In Weekend Wave Of Firebombings

BELFAST, May 12 (UPI).—Security officials said today that 19 persons were injured in a weekend wave of incendiary bombings throughout Northern Ireland.

At Londonderry, British Army troops neutralized a 200-pound bomb planted yesterday, the army said.

In Belfast, security officials said that the raid Friday on the Belfast headquarters of the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army included seizure of the group's "war plan."

They said documents uncovered at an expensive home in fashionable west Belfast included a list of IRA contacts and key men, and a blueprint for planned violence.

The death yesterday of the sixth victim of a bomb blast nine days ago increased to 1,016 the death toll in violence in the province since August, 1969.

Cypriot Rebels Steal Weapons

NICOSIA, Cyprus, May 12 (AP).—The extreme rightist anti-government underground organization EOKA-2 has stolen a large quantity of heavy machine-guns and other weapons from an army camp, it was reported here yesterday.

An official announcement said 35 Bren guns, 45 Sten guns, 40 rifles, 4 mortars and 2 bazookas were stolen between May 6-8 from the National Guard camp at Yeroskipos, near Paphos in west Cyprus. It was one of the largest thefts of weapons from army camps by EOKA-2 supporters in the last two years.

EOKA-2 has been waging a campaign to overthrow the Cypriot President, Archbishop Makarios, and proclaim Enosis—the union of Cyprus with Greece.

In Poll After TV Debate Giscard Leads Mitterrand, 51.5% to 48.5%

PARIS, May 12 (Reuters).—Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has taken a 3-percentage-point lead over Socialist leader François Mitterrand in the French presidential race following their debate on television Friday, according to a poll.

The first survey of opinion taken after the debate indicated that Mr. Giscard d'Estaing would get 51.5 percent of the vote in next Sunday's runoff election to 48.5 percent for Mr. Mitterrand.

The poll, carried out by the Sofres organization and to be published in tomorrow's editions of Le Figaro, revealed that the debate may have swung opinion in the finance minister's favor.

Thirty-three percent of the 1,200 persons questioned said that they were more favorable to him afterward, while only 26 percent said the same of Mr. Mitterrand.

The last poll, taken May 6 immediately after the first-round vote, showed Mr. Giscard d'Estaing leading with 51.49 percent. A rival poll, to be published in tomorrow's editions of L'Express and Le Point, and taken before the debate, showed them tied at 50-50.

Meanwhile a day of quiet campaigning opened the final week of the race to decide whether a Socialist or a conservative heads France for the next seven years.

But both candidates were expected to go all out this week for the few undecided voters which will decide the winner.

The Socialist and Communist parties which are backing Mr. Mitterrand have been making strenuous efforts to win over the votes of any Gaullists still unable to accept Mr. Giscard d'Estaing because of his role in the defeat of a 1969 referendum which led to President de Gaulle's resignation.

The leaders of the Gaullist party have declared their support—although somewhat half-heartedly—for Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, and the defeated Gaullist candidate, Mr. Jacques Chaban-Delmas, reiterated his backing this weekend for Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, but without mentioning the finance minister by name.

Mr. Mitterrand met farmers this morning at Moulins, in central France, to discuss agricultural

Teamsters' Boss Supports Nixon

WASHINGTON, May 12 (AP).—Frank Fitzsimmons said today the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, America's largest union, still supports President Nixon.

"We feel he's no different than any other individual. He should have his day in court if he is to have one. We still support him," the organization's president said.

Mr. Fitzsimmons said that while union members might have differing views, by and large they want the man to have a fair shake.

3 Japanese Women Scale Peak in Nepal

KATMANDU, Nepal, May (AP).—Three Japanese women have scaled 26,650-foot Mount Manaslu in the Himalayas, the highest peak ever climbed by women. But the expedition took them to the top cost \$2. life of one of their group; a message received here yesterday said.

The Nepalese Foreign Minister said the message reported that Miyeko Mori, 33, Masako Uchiyama, 32, and Naoko Kuribayashi, 31, reached the summit with a Sige pa guide. The day before, the message added, Teiko Sugita, 32, was killed when she slipped off a cliff.

Israelis Ban Protests At Mrs. Meir's Home

JERUSALEM, May 12 (UPI).—Israeli police today banned any demonstrations in the immediate area of Premier Golda Meir's official residence here.

The move followed weeks of demonstrations to protest territorial concessions to Syria. Demonstrators moved this morning from the street near a premier's house to the area's Jewish center.

230 Injured in Crash Of Chicago El Trains

CHICAGO, May 12 (AP).—The crash of two elevated trains at rush hour Friday, which injured more than 230 passengers, was the third serious accident on the Chicago rapid transit in a month.

The trains, each carrying about 300 passengers, crashed on the South Side as the evening rush hour was ending.

On April 11, 37 persons were injured in the derailment of an elevated train as it rounded a sharp curve in the Loop. An investigation showed the motor-man was going too fast and he was fired. Seventeen passengers were injured April 22 in another derailment.

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Free introductory lectures: 8 PM, Wednesday, May 15 and 22; course begins May 24. Pershing Hall, 49 Rue Pierre-Charron. Information telephone Paris 359-17-61.

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Nixon Said to Have Uttered Racial Slurs in Taped Talks

By Seymour M. Hersh

WASHINGTON, May 12 (NYT).—President Nixon made disparaging remarks about Jews and Catholics in 1972 White House conversations, with John Dean 3d, according to a transcript of the President's conversations with John Dean 3d, which was obtained by the New York Times from a copy of tape recordings of the Oval Office conversations of the President with John Dean 3d, dated March 20 and March 23, 1972, which were turned over by the White House early last year to Judge Lee Garfield, U.S. District Court in New York, for use in the trial of former General John Mitchell, former Commerce Secretary, and others.

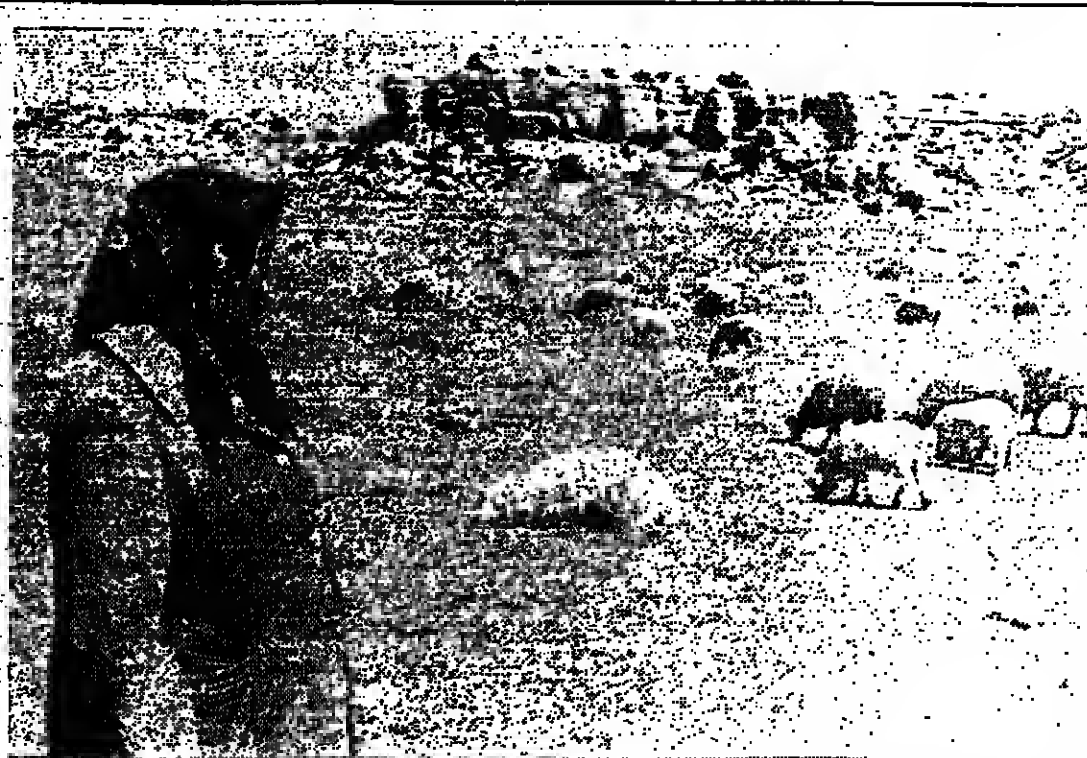
U.S. Security Ejected as 'Bug' Motive

WASHINGTON, May 12 (AP).—Targets of White House bugging told a Senate subcommittee Friday they do not believe the bugging was done for national security reasons, but rather to place under electronic surveillance an attempt to discover the source of news leaks regarding the national security.

There is no evidence that the bugging was done for national security reasons, said Joseph Kraft, who said his home phone was bugged and his Paris hotel room was bugged in June, 1969. Kraft speculated that the bugging may have been a White House effort to spy on Henry Kissinger, then head of the National Security Council, and a member of Mr. Kissinger's staff, that during the entire time the bugging was being done, Mr. Kissinger was not in the room and could not have been the source of any news leaks.

Readers Support Chicago Tribune Shift on Nixon

CHICAGO, May 12 (NYT).—Chicago Tribune has been hit with mail and telephone calls since it published its blunt Thursday saying President Nixon was no longer fit to be in the office and should resign.



THE DISPUTED AREA—Julia Begay, a Hopi, watches over her flock of grazing sheep.

Neighbor Baited Fish Stew Chef With a Frog

HAIFA, Israel, May 12 (UPI).—A magistrate's court judge has fined a housewife Israeli \$1 (24 cents) for putting a frog in her neighbor's pot of fish stew.

Hunt Says Cash He Sought Was Not 'Hush Money'

MILWAUKEE, May 12 (AP).—Howard Hunt Jr., who was convicted in the Watergate break-in, denied Friday that he ever tried to blackmail President Nixon.

7 Die in U.S. Bus Crash

CHARLESTON, Mo., May 12 (AP).—A Memphis-bound Greyhound bus sideswiped a wrecked tractor-trailer early on a sharp curve near here yesterday, killing seven passengers and injuring at least 35, seven of them critically.

Gallup Poll

U.S. Campuses Found Calm Yet Volatile

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J., May 12.—Although the mood on U.S. college campuses today is calmer than in the turbulent 1960s, there is little evidence to suggest that the current college scene is as serene as it was in the 1960s.

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A Name, a Certain Style Bring Con Artist a \$4-Million Yacht

MIAMI, May 12 (AP).—Convicted Alan Gokey says he was not all that unhappy when his fling ended after he bought a yacht with a bogus \$4-million check.

"I'm just so relieved it's all over," said Gokey, 29, adding that he was not going to contest charges filed against him by local police. "It's an awful lot of pressure, being rich like that. You meet such tacky people anyway."

Miami police were still trying to untangle Gokey's financial dealings. "This guy has conned everybody in the world. I just don't believe it," said Miami detective Gerald Green, who taped Mr. Gokey's confession and made it public.

Gokey, who served time in New York's state prison at Attica on a forgery conviction, was arrested last week as he drove a Cadillac into the exclusive Palm Bay Club. He was charged with possession of a stolen motor vehicle, and police say more charges are pending.

The club, which once refused membership to Spiro Agnew, had issued Gokey a guest card and allowed him to dock his 120-foot yacht intent.

"If people think you have money, they don't dare insult you by asking you for credentials," Gokey told police.

Police gave these details of how Gokey—using the name J. Alan Durham 3d—acquired his yacht:

In April, the Everett S. Emerson Construction Co. of Miami hired a bookkeeper named Dennis Haddad for a weekly salary of \$119.84.

Shortly afterward, a Miami Cadillac dealer sold a new Eldorado to J. Alan Durham 3d, who paid \$120,000 down with an Emerson check.

Later, Friendship of North America, a Fort Lauderdale yacht broker, chartered the \$100,000-a-week intent to a J. Alan Durham 3d, who said he was Emerson board chairman. Then, last week, J. Alan Durham gave Friendship an Emerson check for \$4 million for the yacht.

Police said Friendship thought Durham was an heir to a North Carolina tobacco fortune but decided to check Emerson Construction anyway.

The yacht broker called Emerson and spoke to bookkeeper Haddad, who said Durham was not available and was difficult to reach, because he was fabulously wealthy and a bit snooty, police said.

That satisfied Friendship. But on Monday morning, Everett Emerson was casually scanning his company's books and discovered to his horror that the firm had

Navajos, Hopis Talk of War in Land Dispute

By Martin Waldron

DISPUTED AREA, Ariz., May 12 (NYT).—The sun was more than two hours high and the bite of the late spring breeze had softened before the old Indians' grandchildren lifted him up from the sheepskin rug on the floor of the hogan and took him outside.

Propped on his knees on the ground, John Phillip stared across the northern Arizona semidesert to the east, whence the Great Spirit sends life to Navajos.

Stretched out before him were miles of dusty grass and sagebrush, a traditional Navajo grazing land where Indians have struggled for centuries. It is hard to which another tribe, the Hopis, have established a legal claim. The Hopis, who live on mesas in northern Arizona, and the Navajos are locked in a bitter fight over one million acres in the disputed area. Navajos live on the land but federal courts have ruled that the Hopis have a half interest.

Critical Point

The dispute has reached a critical point and there is a task of the area between the 135,000 Navajos and the 5,000 Hopis.

John Phillip is one of those Navajos who would have to be moved somewhere if the Hopis succeed in their land grab," said Clare Thompson, the official interpreter for the Navajo Indian Tribal Council.

Mr. Thompson was guiding white visitors deep into the Navajo Reservation where English is almost never spoken. The dispute arose from a carelessly written order by President Chester A. Arthur in 1883. At that time, the Hopis lived on three mesas north of Window Rock, as they had for a thousand years.

In an effort to bring some order to the chaos of the "Indian problem" of a hundred years ago, President Arthur ordered a large parcel of land set aside for the use of the Hopis and "such other Indians" as the Bureau of Indian Affairs might designate. But this parcel was right in the middle of the Navajo Reservation.

The Hopis used about half the land set aside for them to raise sheep and vegetables. Navajos, traditional enemies of the Hopis,

occupied the remainder of the land. Ancestors of these Navajos had lived there for hundreds of years.

In 1962, the federal courts began trying to resolve recurring squabbles between the two tribes over the land.

The Navajos were claiming all of the disputed land under a theory that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had designated the Navajos as owners of this land when the bureau began issuing sheep and cattle grazing permits to Navajos in the 1930s.

In the 1962 ruling, the courts set aside 900,000 acres surrounding the Hopi mesas for the exclusive use of the Hopis and ruled that the two tribes jointly owned the remaining million acres.

Since then, the tribes have not been able to agree on how to split the land or, indeed, if it should be split at all. The Navajos have refused to acknowl-

edge that the Hopis have a right to any of the disputed land, pointing out the Hopis have never lived there and the Navajos have for generations.

The Hopis have accused the Navajos of ruining this land by overgrazing it, a position that agriculture experts of the bureau support.

The Hopis have indicated a willingness to accept a decision on the land by Congress. The Navajos have not.

Any division of the land will require the displacement of at least half of the 13,000 Navajos who live in the disputed area. They remain adamant against moving even though one plan would have provided up to \$25,000 a family in compensation.

"Let the government take this money and buy the Hopis some good grazing land somewhere else," a Navajo tribal official said.

U.S. Aerospace Production Hit by Costlier Basic Metals

By Thomas O'Toole

WASHINGTON, May 12 (WP).—Rising fuel prices have added almost \$1.5 billion to the cost of producing aluminum, titanium and magnesium, threatening a serious inflation for military aircraft programs and the reusable space shuttle.

The reason the three metals are so hard hit by soaring fuel costs is that they are produced by processes requiring a lot of electricity. It takes eight kilowatt hours to make a pound of aluminum, 12 kilowatt hours to produce a pound of magnesium and 20 kilowatt hours for a pound of titanium.

At least one aerospace company has told the Pentagon and the space agency that it expects aluminum price increases in the next six months to raise its program costs by 16 percent.

The impact has been felt most in aluminum, a reflection of its multiple uses. The United States consumes an estimated 14.5 billion pounds of aluminum a year.

The price of aluminum has

jumped 6.5 cents a pound in the last six months, to 31.5 cents a pound. The industry expects another increase of two cents a pound on June 1 and at least that much again on Aug. 1.

Estimate Revised

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration last month told Congress that it had increased for \$50 million its cost estimate for the reusable space shuttle. Over 12 years, starting in 1980, the project will require 171,000 tons of aluminum for the airframe, rocket motors and fuel tanks for five shuttles to make 80 flights a year.

Rockwell International has raised the estimated delivery price of each of 34 B-1 bombers from \$45 million to \$61.5 million, at least partly because of titanium and aluminum prices. There are 27,000 pounds of titanium and 54,000 pounds of aluminum in each B-1 bomber.

Rockwell says it now pays \$8.16 a pound for titanium, up from \$7 a pound less than a year ago.

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Gallup Poll

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By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

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Spain Stirring Under Impact Of the Revolution Next Door

By Richard Eder

MADRID, May 12 (NYT).—Day after day the newspapers and television broadcasts here have given detailed, often enthusiastic accounts of Portuguese crowds chasing the secret police, of political prisoners released from jail and of exiles returning to frenzied welcomes.

Not since the Allies defeated Hitler have the Spaniards been so seized with the drama of a foreign event and with its conceivable application to themselves.

Last week the same thought was expressed, in almost identical words, by a prominent journalist, a senior official and a noted opposition figure. As the last of these put it:

"After 45 years of occupying every crumb of power, of winning elections with 80 percent of the votes, the Portuguese regime falls with not a hand raised to defend it except that of a few secret policemen."

The impact of the Portuguese events here is immense. "It is the number one political topic," said a lawyer with wide political contacts. On Tuesday, the High General Staff summoned top officers to a two-hour screening of a documentary film about Portugal. The cabinet has discussed it intensively, with opinions ranging from those of liberal ministers who are using it to buttress their plea for urgent reforms to those of a conservative minister who said to genuine distress:

"Imagine—they have put the police in the cells used by the political prisoners!"

The most conspicuous reflection of the Portuguese revolution has been the minor revolution, in Spanish terms, in the press. Information Minister Flo Cabanillas released some press controls when he took office six months ago. But the reporting on Portugal has been a major test of this new tolerance.

The potential parallels of the Portuguese experience with Spain are underlined over and over. "The lesson of Portugal" wrote *Informaciones*, "is that inflexibility and the incapacity of a system to adapt itself lead to uttermost disaster until an upheaval eliminates even the faintest trace of that system." Among the many accounts of the popular mood in Lisbon is one in which the reporter writes of a girl who has him a rose, murmurs "for Spain," and slips away.

At Nuevo Diario, one of the few newspapers that set itself solidly against the coup, the editorial staff voted overwhelmingly to strike to protest the altering by the management of articles from Portugal. "The management reportedly backed down."

To Spaniards, the Portuguese events are a matter of irony. Portugal has always represented a kind of poor and primitive relation. If Spaniards, at least the younger ones, were embarrassed that, in a democratic Europe they continued to live under

an old dictatorship, perhaps there was some consolation in the notion that in Portugal the dictatorship was older and harsher.

"Looking at Europe, if it were not for Portugal, Spain would be Portugal," Spaniards have said. Now, to many Spaniards, Spain is Portugal.

The students are demonstrating in favor of the Portuguese revolution. But, at this time in Spain, the students will make no difference, any more than they did in Portugal before the coup. More to the point, perhaps, are half-serious rumors that Gen. Manuel Dias Alegria, chief of the High General Staff and a reputed liberal, has been receiving monies in the mail, a reference to Portugal's Gen. Antonio de Spínola, who wears one.

The democratic and leftist opposition here is not likely, in the short run, to get much more than moral support from the Portuguese developments. A member of the Communist underground who went to Paris in great exuberance to consult with the Spanish party leadership there, returned to report that he found considerable caution about the prospects of any quick changes in Spain.

Within the regime, the Portuguese events have sharpened divisions. More liberal members, such as Mr. Cabanillas, argue that the failure of Premier Marcello Caetano to democratize his regime led to the coup. In Spain, they say, a similar failure could lead to an upheaval far less amiable than the one in Portugal.

Right-wingers in the government, on the other hand, maintain that it was Mr. Caetano's failure to be hard that allowed the situation to get out of hand. At the moment, the liberal argument seems to have the upper hand, but this could change if the situation in Portugal deteriorates.

More Isolated

In general terms, the change in Portugal means that the Spanish regime is even more isolated than before. For the present, both governments are eager to maintain friendly relations but there can be no question of the old intimacy continuing.

More important, Spain has lost a secure frontier. The police and Civil Guard keep some control of the French border. But there is not much they could do should the Spanish opposition begin to use the long Portuguese border to slip across men and propaganda.

"We must move quickly," said a liberal Spanish official who, doubtful that the army will provide a democratic solution on the lines of France, sees no alternative to the regime's evolving one itself. "We don't have much time. Not five years. Maybe not five months."

Oil Rig in North Sea Pitches But the Drilling Never Stops

By Terry Robards

ABERDEEN, Scotland, May 12 (NYT).—Every so often the Sea Quest oil rig anchored in 420 feet of frigid water pitches slightly, but the 70 men who live and work on board pay no attention. The sea is calm and the men are accustomed to much worse.

Last winter, the needle went off the scale on the wind gauge. That meant the wind was blowing above 90 miles an hour. The waves climbed to 50 feet, and the men were very much aware of the pitching and the listing.

But recently the sun was bright, the breeze was soft and the waves were barely visible from the deck high above the water. Aberdeen, Scotland, is 120 miles to the west and the coast of Norway is 170 miles to the east.

40 Other Rigs

In between there is nothing but Sea Quest and about 41 other rigs exploring for oil beneath the bottom of the ocean. So far, they have found enough to indicate that the North Sea fields are among the richest in the world.

Britain now gets 65 percent of its oil from the Middle East. But later this year the commercial flow from the North Sea will begin and by 1985 Britain could be self-sufficient in oil. It could even come about by 1980 if the discoveries are many and the storms few.

Sea Quest, owned and operated by the British Petroleum Co., is one of the largest oil drilling platforms ever constructed. It cost \$10 million to build and

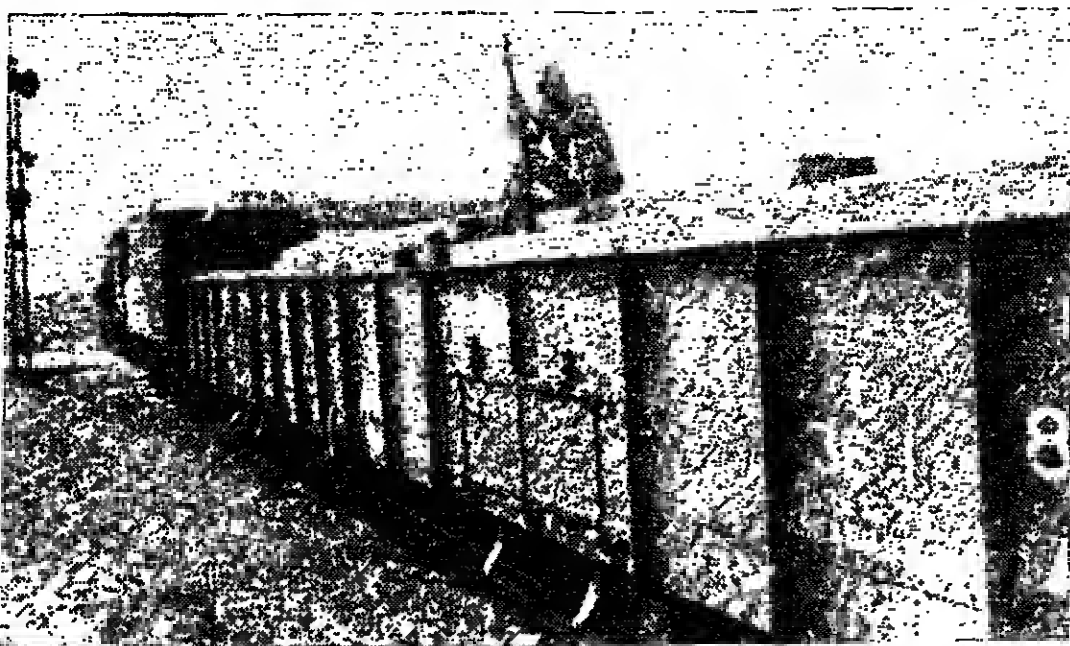
equip, plus \$30,000 a day to operate.

The drilling derrick towers 321 feet above the water on a triangular deck the three sides of which are each 100 yards long. It floats. The deck stands on three submerged pontoons secured to the sea bottom by anchors that weigh 30,000 pounds each. The drilling never stops, except to add another length of pipe or casing or when the wind and the sea rise to danger levels.

The drill is made up of 20-foot sections surrounded by steel casings. It can grind up to 30,000 feet into the sea bottom, although most discoveries have occurred at around 10,000 feet. The shaft is attached to flexible joints that enable it to absorb the buffeting of the sea without tearing loose or breaking.

Although three new films a week are shown here by helicopter for viewing in the recreation room and such dishes as "casseroles of rabbit" and "Italiano minestrone" are served in the messroom, life on board is essentially boring. It is also dangerous and lonely.

The standard shift is 12 hours. The men formerly worked two weeks, then received one week off. Last month, after an incident on another rig, the men won equal time off. Now they work two weeks, take two weeks off and so on. Helicopters with crew changes constantly shuttle back and forth from Dyce air field just outside Aberdeen.



Armed guard sits on freight train loaded with lumber as it pulls out of New Delhi.

Road Gives Glimpse of Mozambique's Woes

BEIRA, Mozambique, May 12 (NYT).—The road between this port city and Lourenço Marques, the capital 300 miles to the south, provides some clues as to why the Portuguese junta has been rebuffed and is facing a spreading war after proposing a ceasefire to the rebellious Mozambique Liberation Front.

One of the few main arteries of this land that measures about 2,000 miles north to south, the Lourenço Marques-Beira road connects two prosperous port cities in which the whites live in houses and apartments and most of the blacks in shanties around them. Between the cities, the road passes through 800 miles of human misery and natural beauty.

The road passes through a well-populated coastal fringe and inland region in which the money economy is represented only by an occasional roadside general store offering a narrow range of goods in small quantities. Salt and sugar are weighed out into little packages from open bins.

Each shop, kept mainly by whites or East Indians, has a sewing machine or two on which tailors run up simple women's dresses and blouses, all alike, that hang from the ceiling waiting for customers. There are refrigerators containing bottles of drinks but a boy about 12 years old, given a bottle of red soda, found his enjoyment hampered by inexperience in drinking from a bottle.

A smoldering carcass of a bus sat about 75 miles south of here on the side of the road.

The bus was attacked Wednesday on the last leg of its daily run of 450 miles from Beira, when it was carrying its usual full load of passengers, mainly black, and their sparse luggage. The attackers fired automatic weapons from the tropical forest and finished it off with a rocket.

No Billboards on Road

The Lourenço Marques-Beira road must be the world's longest highway unpolluted by advertising signs. Although the road passes through a half-dozen tribal regions with its distinct languages, no African words are seen on any buildings. Portuguese is the only visible language, and few but Africans live between the two cities.

Traffic consists largely of trailer trucks and occasional buses; passenger cars are rare. More indicative still of the poverty and lack of development is the scarceness of bicycles and motorcycles, which jam the roads of even the least developed Asian countries.

Villages are small clusters of round houses set in clearings surrounded by fields of corn and stands of tall coconut palms. In front of the houses women with long beater pound corn into meal in large mortars. Human power is the only source of energy in evidence and agricultural implements are rudimentary.

Indian shopkeepers and American missionaries questioned said the sympathies of the population had always been with the Mozambique Liberation Front, or Frelimo. Not perhaps with its terrorist tactics but with its independent and nationalist aspirations.

The coup in Lisbon, according to those in close contact with the black population, has released a flood of expectation of imminent independence.

"They're all for Frelimo," a shopkeeper said. "They say why should we still work on the road? Why do they still have the shops? They think it will be like it was in Uganda."

In Uganda, Asians, who owned most of the shops, were expelled. "They're all for Frelimo" was the unhappy comment also of an American missionary. One of the missionaries questioned said the sympathies of the population had always been with the Mozambique Liberation Front, or Frelimo. Not perhaps with its terrorist tactics but with its independent and nationalist aspirations.

The woman was given exit papers about two months ago and departed last week with her daughter and a second child born shortly after her arrest.

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Rail Strike in 5th Day

More Union Activists Arrested in India

NEW DELHI, May 12 (AP).—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government kept up widespread arrests of union activists today in a crackdown designed to break the five-day-old Indian rail strike.

The Action Committee of militant unions leading the walkout condemned "the government's draconian repressive measures" and called on the public to press for resumption of negotiations.

"The hardships being faced by the traveling public, the effects on our national economy—all this can be overcome if the government abandons its adamant attitude and takes steps to resume negotiations without further delay," it said.

Government railroad officials in New Delhi refused to divulge the number of those arrested since the walkout began. A tally of news reports quoting local rail officials around the country showed a total of more than 8,000. Union spokesmen claimed 15,000 had been arrested.

Reports from the central Indian town of Bhopal, capital of Madhya Pradesh State, said 1,175 striking rail workers were arrested there today. In Bombay, 203 persons were arrested today and, in New Delhi, 87 were arrested.

The crackdown began almost a week before the walkout Wednesday. Mrs. Gandhi's government sent policemen on dawn raids across the country to arrest union leaders and activists who, she charged, had incited workers to violence and illegality.

Among those arrested was Socialist leader George Fernandes, who heads the labor federation spearheading the walkout.

Does she trust her staff? "I don't, but I have to live with them," she said.

She said she hoped the junta would give independence to Mozambique but added a qualification to which many whites here subscribe.

"Independence for us, not the natives," she said. "Who needs Portugal?"

Japan Quake Toll to 16

TOKYO, May 12 (AP).—Workers searching through dirt and debris after the earthquake Thursday hit the southern Izu Peninsula, 100 miles southwest of Tokyo, found three more bodies today. The death toll now stands at 16.

A government railroad spokesman today claimed "marked improvement" in the number of trains operating despite the strike.

He said more rail-borne goods were moving into the major cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, where scarcities had caused prices of perishable items such as fruit and vegetables to rise.

Passenger service climbed to 70 percent of its prestrike level, the spokesman added, up about 10 percent from yesterday. News reports also spoke of increasing freight movement, an indication

of a possible back-to-work movement among some workers.

The country's rail network usually carries 550,000 tons of goods and 7.3 million passengers a day. The workers are banking on the importance of the rail lifeline to force Mrs. Gandhi to give in.

The strikers, who make \$37 to \$160 a month, are seeking a 15-percent general increase and an annual bonus amounting to an extra month's salary.

General Strike Called

NEW DELHI, May 12 (Reuters).—India's Confederation of Trade Unions decided last night to call a general strike Wednesday to support the national rail strike.

The walkout was announced by the confederation's general secretary, G. S. Sinha, after rail leaders formally rejected a government offer as unworkable.

Four thousand government troops and 40,000 civilians are encamped in the large Longvek complex, 35 miles north of Phnom Penh.

Intelligence sources said that at least seven Khmer Rouge battalions, about 2,000 men, have been withdrawn from Longvek and returned to their base areas in Kompongthom, 90 miles north of Phnom Penh.

Skirmishing has increased around Kompongthom during the week, diplomatic sources said. Meanwhile, insurgent forces also maintained pressure on isolated government positions along Highway 4, the command reported. Troops were forced to evacuate eight government positions last week.

More Visas for Jews

MOSCOW, May 12 (UPI).—Two thousand Soviet Jews received permission to emigrate to Israel in April, 20 percent fewer than for the same month last year, a Jewish source said.

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We have over 195 offices on six continents to serve you, a worldwide communications system to make all your reservations for you—reservations for dinner in our 747 First Class dining room, for the hotel of your choice, and your car rental. And in 19 countries

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Come to the flavor of Marlboro

Marlboro.
The number one selling
cigarette in the world.

Collapse of Leadership

Georges Pompidou, Willy Brandt, Edward Heath, Golda Meir, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Marcello Caetano, George Papadopoulos. These longtime fixtures at the top of diplomatic lists in the world's chancelleries no longer hold the reins of power.

In a remarkably short time measured by only a few months, the Western world has witnessed an extraordinary overturning of political power. (The ironic footnote is that some of those national leaders considered chronically vulnerable—say, King Hussein of Jordan, President Assad of Syria, even President Thieu of South Vietnam—remain entrenched in relative security.)

Is there a common thread through these power reversals? Not specifically. A decade or two ago, it could have immediately been supposed that a plot against the so-called free world had been sprung, that the "international Communist conspiracy" had shown itself, and all the well-oiled alarms would have sounded. Even as a tentative hypothesis, such a notion can hardly get off the ground today.

Each of these leaders fell from causes peculiar to his own circumstances. President Pompidou, of course, died; but his Gaullist movement seems to have fallen victim to the same kind of internal disenchantment that hit Prime Ministers Heath and Trudeau, Premier Caetano in Portugal and President Papadopoulos in Greece grew careless in managing the conspiratorial right-wing politics that kept them in power. Chancellor Brandt and Mrs. Meir plummeted disastrously in their public esteem as their vision of earlier years went cloudy; then both succumbed to specific mishaps.

The proximate causes of these changes of regime are different, but all seem to spring from roots common to the industrialized world. Alastair Buchan defined them in his Reith lectures to include "diminishing respect for political leadership, the

divorce between social and political loyalties, the adjustment from rural to urban values, and the increasing dominance of the mass media." Confronting these pervasive factors and the rapid acceleration of social change which they are visibly provoking, regime after regime has found itself overwhelmed.

The postwar era which nurtured the present generation of unsteady leaders was a time, by and large, of orderly economic expansion, offering seemingly automatic safety valves to correct social dislocations. With the coming of the nineteen-seventies, and particularly the oil crisis starting last October, the industrial economies found the abstract desirability of growth giving way to the absolute necessity for contraction. "Capitalism in contraction is as much of a social and political monster as capitalism in expansion tends to be a miracle," wrote Prof. Fritz Stern of Columbia University.

To this structural change must be added the seeming inability of leadership groups in country after country to break loose from the traditional issues of strategy and economy, in which they were so well schooled, in order to confront the new problems—scarcity in energy and food supplies, population pressure, deteriorating natural environment, inflation unresponsive to any of the traditional checks—which are taking hold of their societies. It requires a far subtler political mind to lead a society through evolution than revolution.

Improvisation supplanted vision as the quality which created leadership, and it is not enough. The most somber note of all in this time is the incapacity of leadership in yet another nation, which had served as source of much of the inspiration and power that guided the Western world through the postwar era. Already in effect, and perhaps soon in fact, the President of the United States must be added to the list of political leaders fallen from authority.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Disintegration in America

The authority of the President of the United States is visibly disintegrating. Instead of the master stroke that Nixon apparently envisaged, the disclosure of the edited transcripts of his Watergate conversations has proved a disaster for him. Before the preliminaries of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry could get started on Thursday, leaders of his own party in Congress and longtime supporters in the press had already expressed dismay at the quality of the President's thinking and leadership as disclosed in the transcripts.

Nixon's authority is no longer crumbling at the edges or flawed on certain sides. It has collapsed at the center. What the transcripts reveal is astonishing even to Nixon's severest critics. Opponents had long criticized him for what they regarded as his ruthlessness and moral insensitivity in political campaigns. The transcripts prove that Nixon is a man who lacks the moral authority to be the leader of his country.

More surprisingly, he also seems to be lacking in personal presence, intellectual grasp and executive vigor. Who would have expected that the senior members of his own staff interrupted him repeatedly in conversation and even at times faintly patronized him? Or that discussions of critical issues in which he participated would be so confused and inconsequential? Or that a man twice elected to the nation's highest office would feel so defensive and embittered? Or speak so harshly not only of his antagonists but of his own colleagues and subordinates?

These transcripts are profoundly shocking documents. The full damage that they have done to the office of the presidency and to the American people's sense of themselves is incalculable at this time. The harm is not in the knowledge that men under stress lapse into the profanity and ethnic slurs, disagreeable though they are, that the White House excised from the transcripts. Rather, what is shocking is the low level at which the President and his most trusted advisers perceived their problems and tried to cope with them. Ethically, they show themselves to be cynical and unscrupulous. Intellectually, they are slovenly. In emotional terms,

their rare expressions of compassion are overwhelmed by their prevailing attitudes of manipulation and distrust. Their language is cruel, obscene, cliché-ridden and mechanistic.

In acting upon the mistaken belief that the publication of these horrid conversations could possibly be helpful to his cause, Nixon seriously underestimated the intelligence and moral sensibility of the American people. The explanation for this misperception may lie in what could be termed the President's "Checkers complex." That pathetic speech in 1952 in which he invoked his dog, his wife's cloth coat and his own hardships saved his career in national politics. In each major difficulty in his career since that time, Nixon has sought the emotional and political equivalent of the Checkers speech. The formula is to evade the substance of the problem as much as possible and yield as little information as possible and yet seem to be baring one's soul.

The release of these transcripts and the accompanying televised speech to the nation conform to that formula. Shocking as the revelations in the transcripts are, it has to be noted that there are numerous omissions and far more of them in the President's own remarks than in those of anyone with whom he talks. These omissions and discrepancies are in themselves suspicious. Moreover, it is highly significant that the President and his lawyers are trying to use the release of these transcripts as an excuse for withholding a great deal of additional evidence sought by the House Judiciary Committee and the special prosecutor. What is Nixon hiding? And why?

His presidency is in ruins. While the House must proceed in inexorable fashion with the impeachment inquiry in accordance with the nation's constitutional processes, Nixon still has the choice open to him of resigning his office as a New York Times editorial suggested six long months ago or of taking a leave of absence under the 25th Amendment until the impeachment question is resolved. Certainly he is no longer in a moral position to carry out the duties of the presidency or to offer any leadership to his party, to the country or to the world.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

Britain's Latest Strike

We view with the utmost pessimism the conclusion of the engineers' strike. Not, of course, the fact that it ended almost before it began; nor the fact that the union's debt was paid for it—there are ample precedents for such action by third parties. Two things depress us, to the end of our bootstraps. The first is the enfeebled condition in which

the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and their maneuvers against the Industrial Relations Act have left English law. The second is the spectacle of senior ministers—impelled by a frightening combination of ignorance and prejudice—endorsing, encouraging and extending the damage thus done to the place law should occupy in any ordered society.

—From the Sunday Times—London

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 13, 1899.

LONDON.—The Home Secretary received yesterday a large deputation which came to lay before him its views against the appearance of newspapers on Sundays. The Home Secretary was in agreement with the demonstration and said that he hoped their protest would result in bringing about an abrogation of seven-day papers, for which there was real public demand. Many newspapers may now give second thoughts to the burning subject.

Fifty Years Ago

May 13, 1924.

NEW YORK.—The fifth annual convention of the National League of Women Voters which has been held in Buffalo, was highly interesting because of the consideration of such important subjects, such as education, influence in government, world peace, child welfare, the suppression of traffic in women, the cost of living, improvement of the condition of women in industry and reform and uniformity of the marriage and divorce laws.



Shredding Machine

War and Effervescence

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS, France.—It is years since there has been so much political effervescence and uncertainty in the West. At the start of 1973 the North Atlantic world seemed to be progressing under firm and sensible leadership. Now this illusion has been swept away.

Sixteen months ago Western democracy appeared to be built upon four solid rocks: Richard Nixon in the United States, Georges Pompidou in France, Edward Heath in Britain and Willy Brandt in the German Federal Republic.

Today Pompidou is dead, Heath and Brandt have been overwhelmed and Nixon, the only remaining symbol, has already been dreadfully tarnished, whether or not he is tossed on the discard heap.

Remote historians, generations hence, may see a connection between unpaid bills for recent wars and subsequent political disasters that convulsed the survivors of those wars. Certainly France's booming defeat in Algeria produced a coup that projected De Gaulle to power and created the Fifth Republic, a system now nearing perhaps intensive modification.

Likewise, the failure of the United States to win its Vietnam conflict destroyed Lyndon Johnson and thereby opened the presidential path to Nixon. Who can conjecture whether, in a less psychologically disturbed atmosphere than that prevailing in America during recent years, the President would have been tempted into such shoddy administrative aberrations.

Whatever implausible history decides, it is clear that in France and the United States, after traumatic and unsuccessful military experiences that emotionally distressed their populations, normal progression of the customary governance was interrupted.

A similar political cycle is far more clearly traceable in Portugal. The power seizure by the military there stemmed directly from the cost of a grinding colonial war which the majority of Portuguese

disliked and which the country could not afford to sustain.

But there are other upsets and uncertainties in the West today, and their links to past conflicts are not so easily discernible. Take the cases of Italy, Britain and West Germany.

An Exception

Here, Italy would appear to be the exception. Losing wars is not necessarily a searing experience for the wise, cynical Italians who, as they did in World War II, often manage to make accommodations to save themselves from total disaster.

However, since Italy destroyed its only maturing parliamentary government in the 1920s and substituted fascism, it has never wholly succeeded in re-creating the governing habit. For two decades its main contribution to the art of politics has been an example of how to govern without a government.

This worked in a fascinating way so long as the industry and intelligence of the Italians was able to maintain a growing economy with substantially full employment. But, as everywhere in Europe, the boom in energy prices following the October Middle East war, tore the fabric; and a political crisis may soon follow the economic strain between Rome and the European Community.

Heath suffered also from the immense rise in oil costs. His attempt to stay unyielding in order to avoid a case of brexit in the British economy didn't work. But that economy had never fully recovered from the heroic victory of World War II which saw Britain gain glory but soon lose the empire on which its curiously intricate manufacturing, trading and financial systems had been based.

The final case is that of Brandt. Germany was—with justice—by far the greatest loser of the 1939-1945 conflict. It not only suffered enormous losses but it ended up in two like an apple, and suffering schizophrenia because of this.

Brandt was the first chancellor to try and heal this illness by

a gradual cure rather than by a tough, gambling policy of winner-take-all such as Chancellor Adenauer and his friend John Foster Dulles had favored. Brandt's approach was that of a surgeon attempting a slow, piecemeal graft on an unutterably smashed bone.

The mere initial step of recognizing East Germany's political existence touched off a furor among Brandt's opponents on the right, and the East's failure to meet the Socialist chancellor's initiatives even half-way did not help his position. Now, suddenly as if by a bomb, his position has been exploded through discovery of an East German spy high among his personal entourage.

Although the brilliant Helmut Schmidt, who succeeds him, will undoubtedly adhere to Brandt's policy, Brandt himself, as a politician, is probably an unrecoverable casualty. His name is but one on a growing roster.

NEW YORK—Back when Harry

Truman was resisting congressional committees in 1949, a Justice Department official named Herman Workman drafted memoranda under the general title "Demands of Congressional Committees for Executive Papers." These became, when a few years later President Eisenhower was resisting the demands of Sen. McCarthy's investigating committee, the authoritative source for all arguments exempting the executive from certain kinds of cooperation with the legislature, and the term "executive privilege" was born. The trouble is the legal memoranda were on the whole, historical flounders, as Prof. Raoul Berger points out in his book, "Executive Privilege."

The guns are trained now, and every time Mr. Nixon opens his mouth to say something about the sacred presidential precedents he is observing, he is quickly and, sad to say, most conclusively, shot down. It turns out not that every president since Washington has taken the position that his papers are immune to inspection by congressional committees looking into possible grounds for impeachment—but exactly the opposite from that. Every president before whom the subject has arisen has laid claim to certain kinds of confidentiality except when the question of impeachment has arisen. Prof. Berger challenges even some of the accepted doctrines of confidentiality. But he treats with great scorn the notion that any form of confidentiality extends to matters relating to impeachment.

It seems to me that left out of public consideration is the special characteristic of the evidence we are here mostly talking about. It is only in the last generation that technology gave us the tape recorder. Whether, if a tape recorder had existed in the 19th century, the presidents then would have gone to the narcissistic excesses of recording every expiatory uttered in the privacy of their quarters for the titillation of future historians, one simply cannot guess. But it is not too much to say, with some confidence, that men as keen-minded as, say, Jefferson and Madison, would have drawn a distinction

Nixon's Best Hope

Strategy of Confusion

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon's best hope of avoiding impeachment and conviction now lies in the fact that there is no agreement in the Congress, the press, or even in the legal fraternity about what the grounds for impeachment of a President should be.

White House counsel James D. St. Clair in his brief to the Judiciary Committee, Feb. 28, 1974, argues that broadening the definition of impeachment beyond specific criminal offenses "of a very serious nature" would be "destructive to our system of government," whereas the Judiciary Committee staff argues that a president can be impeached for "undermining the integrity of office, disregard of constitutional duties and oath of office, arrogation of power, abuse of the governmental process, adverse impact on the system of government."

Counsel for the House Judiciary Committee, on the other hand, argues that this is far too narrow a definition, but that a president can be impeached and convicted if he does not meet his wider constitutional responsibilities and "take care" for "the overall conduct of the executive branch which the Constitution vests in him alone." Both sides, of course, quote extensively from English law and the founding fathers in support of their contradictory opinions.

Accordingly, the issue is not likely to be settled by trying to figure out what was in the minds of James Madison, James Wilson and the other architects of the Constitution, who knew a lot about human weakness and the corruption of power and secrecy but not much about tapes, MRVs and other modern abominations. This does not mean that the constitutional precedents are not useful. They are a far better guide than Gerald Ford's conclusion, when he was trying to impeach Justice William O. Douglas, that an impeachable offense was whatever the House and the Senate consider it to be, or former Attorney General Richard Kleindienst's cynical remark that "you don't need facts, you don't need evidence" to impeach the president, "all you need is votes."

If the debate on what is impeachable is left to a controversy over the meaning of half a dozen words in the Constitution, or on the whim of members of the Congress, it could be incomprehensible and interminable. Left to historical precedent alone, it would probably end in a scoreless tie. Left to the tests of Ford and Kleindienst, it could deny the president fair trial and, as De Toqueville remarked, invite the use of power "as a means of crushing political adversaries or ejecting them from office."

Accordingly, there may be no remedy for the members of the House and Senate other than to listen to the conflicting definitions of what is impeachable, study the evidence and have recourse to common sense in judging what is best, not for the past but for the future of the republic. The Congress will have to consider, for example, the White House argument that a president can be impeached only if guilty of a specific crime, and also Mr. Justice Story's argument that impeachment also applies to "political offenses, growing out of personal misconduct, or gross neglect, or usurpation, or habitual disregard of the duties of political office."

The fate of Richard Nixon may

very well rest on whether the Congress accepts the narrow test that they must find him to be a "criminal" or the broader test of misconduct, abuse of power, neglect of duty, subversion of the Constitution, etc.

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"Clearly," it concludes, "these effects can be brought about in ways not anticipated by criminal law." No doubt White House counsel can make a good case among the lawyers on Capitol Hill with the argument that you either have to prove the President a criminal or acquit him, but the common sense of the people may long for something better than a clever defense and a hung jury.

After all, if you have to prove that a president is a criminal to get rid of him, and that anything less than criminal action is acceptable, then we're in trouble. For on this ground a vice-president can be dismissed and disbarred for cheating on his income taxes and a president can be retained even if he cheated on the American people.

On this ground too, a president could be a drunk, or a liar, or even under oath, or abuse his power or neglect his duty, or ignore his cabinet and leave things to men like Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Dear and Colson, who were not so accountable to anybody but him. None of this is clearly "criminal."

Still, even men like Sen. Hugh Scott, the Republican leader of the Senate from Pennsylvania, are hung up between their moral and legal principles. Scott was deceived by the White House about what was on the tapes, and had defended them without being able to read them, but when he did read them, he found them "deplorable, disgusting, shabby, immoral performances." But even then, he insisted, he didn't find anything "definitively impeachable." The House Republican leader, John J. Rhodes of Arizona, agreed with him.

This is precisely what the President is now counting on: that people will ask, as he did, no what was right but what could he get away with, what was not clearly "criminal," and after the clever tragedies of the last year, he is not only arguing the "criminality" is the only fair and constitutional test, but he is getting away with it much better than most people suspect.

For the Congress is composed primarily of politicians and lawyers, whose tendency is to see compromise. They don't like to vote things up or down. The hate this moral and historic question they see coming up, as they cannot make up their mind what is "impeachable." In the confusion lies Nixon's last chance.

Destroy the Tapes

By William F. Buckley Jr.

there better evidence than it

subjective intention of the president? If we are willing to try his conversations, why not his mind?

Mr. Anthony Lewis, probab the premier prosecutor of Richard Nixon in the world of journalism would of course run into his own tracks going the other way. This invitation to the violent is a trick. Richard Nixon is a Mobster. And my own guess is that if Captain Ahab had disposed of tactical nuclear weapons he'd have stuck one in his harpoon and fired it off at a white whale without a moment's hesitation. But then, of course, Captain Ahab didn't have to reveal the tragedy of his thought three times a week before a large audience; when in a pile he could just set his jaw or look out, philosophically, over a poop deck. Mr. Lewis doesn't do that except perhaps on his sunbaked vacation, during which he batters of American indignantly charge up again.

The direction to take, sure is the opposite one: back toward the restoration of a degree of presidential privacy. To let presidential conversations show be made a felony if done by someone other than the president; and if done by him, an impeachable offense. And all tapes should be destroyed, like poisons, and chemical warfare poisons, with which the tapes are not compared.

Now that we have the technology for recording presidential conversations, why has it not occurred to anyone to suggest that Mr. Nixon take a lie detector test? Presumably Prof. Berger, consulting the 17th century, will find nothing there in the history of the formalization of legislative power that would argue against establishing scientifically whether an executive is lying. They talk about the "best evidence" rule: is

Brown Decision 10 Years Later: Gains, Setbacks

By Robert Reinhold

WASHINGTON, May 12 (AP)—It was a cloudy and warm day that Monday in Washington, May 17, 1964, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision on the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. By this time, the Court had already decided in *Brown v. Board of Education* that "separate but equal" is unconstitutional. The Court's decision was a landmark in the struggle for civil rights. It was a decision that would change the lives of millions of Americans. It was a decision that would lead to the desegregation of schools and public facilities. It was a decision that would lead to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was a decision that would lead to the end of the Jim Crow era. It was a decision that would lead to a more just and equitable society. It was a decision that would lead to a more united and harmonious nation. It was a decision that would lead to a more peaceful and prosperous world. It was a decision that would lead to a more hopeful and optimistic future. It was a decision that would lead to a more just and equitable society. It was a decision that would lead to a more united and harmonious nation. It was a decision that would lead to a more peaceful and prosperous world. It was a decision that would lead to a more hopeful and optimistic future.

Another Side

But the statistics tell only a part of the story. They say nothing about the court orders needed to integrate such diverse cities as San Francisco, Charlotte, Mecklenburg, N.C., Pasadena, Calif., and Pontiac, Mich., about the bus bombings, the fist fights, the bitter rallies. Or, on the other hand, about how countless communities like Tampa, Fla., have quietly come to accept integration. About the way black children were greeted with flowers and ice cream last fall as they arrived at newly desegregated schools in Prince George's County, Maryland, which achieved one of the smoothest desegregations.

Impasse Reached

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(This is the first of two articles. Next is a look at a new generation of problems.)

Portugal's Coup, as Seen From the Inside

By Richard Eder

BRAGA, Portugal (AP)—Capt. Rui Guimaraes, a slim, dark-haired man, is one of the 60 to 70 young officers who organized and carried out the coup that brought down Portugal's dictatorship.

On April 24 the phone rang in Capt. Guimaraes's office. "You can pick up the shares you bought," said a voice.

Capt. Guimaraes slipped out and met, at a prearranged spot near Braga, a captain who had come from the city of Oporto to give him final plans and passwords. The next night Capt. Guimaraes, who lives outside the barracks, stayed up late to listen to the radio. Just after midnight the program was interrupted by a protest song:

"Grandola, suburnado
Town of brothers
Where the people take first place
A friend on every corner,
Equally on every face."

Capt. Guimaraes and another captain who was listening for the signal drove to the barracks. They woke the lieutenants and sergeants, told them briefly that the uprising had started and enlisted their support. They then telephoned the battalion leaders, majors, and told them that the troops were going to move. The majors agreed to join.

Finally they woke the regimental commander, Lt. Col. Rui Mendes, a staunch supporter of the government. The colonel, shaken, said that he would make no objection if the order came from his superiors. Capt. Guimaraes telephoned the headquarters of the northern region in Oporto. It was in rebel hands, and the commander, Col. Edmundo Ismael, ordered Col. Mendes to follow instructions.

Captains and Majors

The mission for the 8th Regiment was relatively modest. A column under Capt. Guimaraes drove to Oporto, in the north, and seized the headquarters of the Portuguese Legion, an armed but ineffective pro-government militia. There was no resistance, nor was there resistance anywhere else in the north.



All over Portugal a captain in each command took action similar to that by Capt. Guimaraes, acting on signals and plans by a committee of captains and majors and representatives from the air force and navy.

Sitting late at night in his simply furnished office, Capt. Guimaraes told how he had come to join the Movement of National Salvation. "I was born and raised in the town of Guimaraes," he said. "My father worked in a bank, and I had a perfectly normal childhood—I loved sports and did not like to study very much. I did have a hatred for injustice and I did want to join the army. I thought of it somehow as a body dedicated to protect the Portuguese people." He went to military school and was assigned to two tours in Africa. The second was spent in Portuguese Guinea under the

command of Gen. Antonio de Spilina, now leader of the junta. Capt. Guimaraes commanded a company of African troops, and also worked as a civilian liaison officer helping to set up native cooperatives.

Capt. Guimaraes said that he and many of his fellow officers had been aware of repression and corruption in the government they served. The hardship and danger of military service in Africa raised more strongly the question of whom they were fighting for.

"The people, we were told," he said. "But we knew that the regime did not listen to the people. We were simply fighting for the regime." The officers' own discussions were monitored by the secret police, who kept agents in the African garrisons. At one point, when Capt. Guimaraes was given a set of elephant teeth by his troops, one of the secret policemen

Committee Is Chosen

A coordinating committee was chosen, but there were no more large meetings—held in a house in Lisbon—before the movement pledged itself to revolt. From then it was a matter of the committee's consulting as necessary with other officers in the movement, drawing up plans and deciding on a date.

There was a false start earlier this year when the garrison at Caldas da Rainha rose prematurely. The Lisbon headquarters of the movement had received a false signal—Capt. Guimaraes believes that the secret police may have been responsible—that the northern command had risen, and it sent out orders to the southern garrisons.

It hastily countermanded those orders when it discovered the mistake, but the Caldas troops had already moved out. They were stopped by the garrison at Santarem. Some officers were arrested, but the incident had no major effect on the progress of plans for the coup.

Pleased by Restraint

Capt. Guimaraes said that he and the other officers were delighted with the public response since the coup.

"Our expectations were exceeded," he said. "We thought that after so many years of repression there would be at least some excesses, but there have not been."

The captain stressed that the coup—now power in Portugal today—is in the hands of the movement, not in those of the junta headed by Gen. Spilina. "We chose them," he said. "We picked those senior officers whom we knew to be honest and independent from the politics of the regime."

What are the political objectives of the young officers? he was asked.

"All we want is to make sure that the Portuguese people will have freedom, all the freedoms," he responded. "Portugal must be as free as France or Italy or Germany. We ally ourselves with no party."

"We exclude no party so long as it is freely elected, Liberal, Socialist, Communist—whatever the people choose."

But supposing a party—the Communist, say—was freely elected and then proceeded to curtail freedom?

"We will throw them out," he said. He said that the movement has no political program other than restoring freedom and guaranteeing order. "Whatever program the people vote for, we will respect," he said.

Routine Case

"We get cases like this almost every day," said Mr. Sathi. "Here is a young woman, she is poor and low caste, people take advantage of her."

"In the villages it's worse because poor people, the landless, are harassed and annoyed by the police, the zamindars, or landowners, he said, adding: "Often the poor cannot use the same wells for water, or even walk in the same fields as the zamindars. Because of the poverty of their position, because of their ill-

A Moscow Ritual: Ivan's Funeral

By Murray Seeger

MOSCOW—Ivan died in his sleep. Masha found him when she woke up and she immediately screamed, waking the other members of the family, his parents, grandmother, brothers and sisters-in-law, who share the communal apartment.

Boris dated 03, the number for emergency medical service, and within 20 minutes a young female doctor arrived. "There is nothing we can do," she said. "It is too late. You must call the death inspector."

She gave them the proper telephone number and left the flat. The widow was distraught and the rest of the family con-

tinued. Like all Russians, they had had plenty of experience with death, especially during World War II when they had relatives and friends among the 20 million who died.

Ivan was less than 40 years old but with a medical history of a weak heart and excessive drinking. While his brother, Boris, moved ahead well in his profession, and became a member of the Communist party, Ivan lagged behind, working as a leader in a bakery. He often brooded about his failure.

The family had worried about his health for months and Ivan tried to persuade the managers to give him a job requiring less physical strain and day hours so he could sleep more. He finally received a medical certificate from the clinic endorsing his application at the bakery and just the day before his boss had indicated that Ivan could change jobs and get off the night shift.

The death inspector came and asked everyone in the apartment for his passport and permit to be living at that address. There are an estimated one million individuals living in Moscow without legal permission.

After looking at the body on the bed, the inspector had to have a certificate attesting the time of death. Boris again dialed 03 but a different doctor arrived. The inspector was not satisfied and Masha had to go to a neighborhood registration office and make a legal declaration.

This statement satisfied the inspector and he left, announcing that there would have to be an autopsy as in all such deaths of unknown cause to a young man. It was the dinner hour, nearly 12 hours after the death, when the hearse arrived and Ivan was taken away.

The next day, Boris went to the morgue, halfway across the city, and received the report that Ivan had died of a heart attack and been a victim of serious hardening of the arteries, despite his comparative youth.

With this new paper, he went to the City Death Registration Office in the same building as the Wedding Palace. This done, Boris could go to the office of the Death Service Agency on the Garden ring road.

The family was not religious so there never was a question of a church funeral. This would be a routine state service. A special bus brought the body from the morgue to the apartment and another truck brought the special coffin Boris bought from the agency for 170 rubles (\$23).

Masha herself went to the central market to buy flowers—ten carnations for men, she remembered. There was a plastic funeral, a funeral for the living, but she wanted real flowers although it would mean paying 30 rubles (\$39) to the free enterprise salesmen from the Caucasian republics at the market.

The relatives and friends met at the apartment on Tuesday and sat quietly, waiting until the combination hearse and bus Boris had ordered arrived. The coffin was closed and slid into the small back door of the bus and the mourners boarded, some of them sitting in the back on either side of the box, for the 30-minute ride to the new crematorium built on a ring road on the very edge of the city.

As the coffin was being carried into the stark building, the bus driver announced to Boris that he was not waiting and was returning to central Moscow. They argued and the driver agreed to stay when he was given a 30-ruble tip.

The party was shown to a square, bare room and told that their 40-ruble (\$52) fee entitled them to 30 minutes. For 5 rubles extra, the loudspeaker carrying recorded funeral music was switched on.

With the coffin open again, the family and relatives performed what they vaguely remembered as the service of farewell to the body. They kissed the feet and forehead and one man kissed the mouth, but another relative quickly warned that that was improper.

At the door, the attendant watched the clock and when 25 minutes had passed she told the family. The coffin was closed and the men moved it to a conveyor belt. At 30 minutes, the attendant pushed the button to start the conveyor and announced: "The service is finished."

The mourners rode back to the apartment and sat down for a traditional meal of hlinis, caviar, sour cream and vodka. There were toasts to the departed Ivan, but no glasses were clinked.

A place was set at the table for the missing loved one with a "butterbrot" (open sandwich) and a shot of vodka. It would stay for 40 days.

A few days later the closest relatives had to return to the crematorium to get the ashes and urn. They knew that by public transportation the trip would take at least 90 minutes, so Boris hired a taxi.

When they arrived at the crematorium there was an argument after another. The woman in charge of the urns was not available and the door to her office was locked.

Finally the urn was produced and Masha carried it several hundred yards to a series of alcoves along a long wall where she had been assigned a small, floral resting place.

She found the niche assigned so high that she could not reach it. When she asked whether she could use one of the empty more convenient niches, the attendant shrugged. For 10 rubles (\$13) the change was made.

Then, the family waited for the artisan who made the plaque to cover the niche to arrive. Another relative, unknown to Masha, had paid him extra to finish the plaque early. Now Masha wanted a change in the inscription in the plaque.

"Well, if you want to change it now it will cost you extra," he said. "I do not do anything for nothing."

The plaque was put in place, but the family's taxi had refused to wait so they had to take a series of buses back to the city. On the ninth day after death, the closest relatives again sat around Masha's table. They were able to talk more easily about Ivan and one cousin started adding up the cost of the funeral. It came to 400 rubles (\$520), but another cousin said that there had been more money paid out in tips and bribes than they knew.

The closest relatives would meet again on the 40th day after death when the incurring period would end and Ivan's place at the table could be cleared. Already after nine days, the sausage on the bread had curled up and the vodka had evaporated.

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Brandt a Casualty of West German Anxiety

By Craig R. Whitney

BONN (AP)—The people of West Germany, nearly five years after Willy Brandt became chancellor, are making more money than they have ever made, are better off than any of their European neighbors, and enjoy one of the most flexible and open political systems in the world.

Yet, they are profoundly anxious and irritated and are concerned about the future. They worry about inflation, which they have less of than any other industrial power; they worry about leftist "radicals" who seem to be gaining influence on the government; they yearn for stability and security in an age when there is little of either.

Amid this anxiety, the news that one of Mr. Brandt's three personal aides, Guenter Guillaume, was a confessed spy for East Germany had an impact far beyond that of an ordinary revelation of high-level espionage. Among other things, it shook a foundation of Mr. Brandt's political career: "Ostpolitik," the policy of coming to terms with the Communist states, for which he won the Nobel Peace prize in 1971.

"He felt that he had been deceived and deceived in the eyes of the people," a friend said. "It was hard enough to explain Ostpolitik to them and get them to go along with it, he felt. Now, how could he defend it?"

Disappointment with the results of the treaties with the Eastern bloc, combined with domestic misinterpretations of them, has been a frequent subject of conversation in recent months. Dislike, which Mr. Brandt's Christian Democratic opponents tried to make a campaign issue in 1973, is now suspect and under question.

"It's frightening what this government has given away to the Soviet Union," a Roman Catholic

priest said in a recent conversation.

Indeed, people who expected the Berlin wall to be torn down and the barriers between East Germany and West Germany to drop after Bonn "recognized" the East German government in 1972 have been disappointed—however much their hopes may have been exaggerated.

A quick poll of May 1 indicated that Mr. Brandt's Social Democrats enjoyed the confidence of only 30 percent of the electorate—10 percent less than a month before. Der Spiegel, the weekly news magazine, which did a recent cover story entitled "The Fears of the Germans," found that 45 of 100 people polled before the spy scandal broke believed Mr. Brandt was too glib and 51 of 100 believed he had bad advisers.

"The German voter wants a strong government—that's terribly important here," said Wolfgang Wagner, editor of the Hanoversche Allgemeine. "When a government comes on weak, that's the worst thing that can happen to it. The Brandt government had been looking bad anyway and now this spy scandal came along. People have the feeling they don't know what they're doing in Bonn."

What is responsible for the change of mood since 1972, when Mr. Brandt led his party to a firm position of power? The cause of much of the insecurity, according to a wide range of politicians and ordinary people interviewed in recent weeks, arose at the end of last fall, when the Arab oil boycott and a general shortage of energy suddenly shook the underlying assumptions about West Germany's long postwar industrial boom.

The actual energy crisis was quickly overcome; by the beginning of January, gasoline was plentiful and, because of a relatively warm winter, so was heating oil.

Nonetheless, the automobile, which is nearly as central to the German national character as it is in the United States, lost its status almost overnight as the force behind the boom and became a symbol of uncertainty.

Peter von Ortzen, head of the Social Democrats' ticket in Lower Saxony, said in a recent interview: "The oil crisis, the four Sunday driving bans last fall and the inflation of the last year have created a general unhappiness, which of course is being expressed against the party in power. People didn't freeze to death last winter, but they have the feeling they might have if the weather had been colder, and that upset them profoundly."

To speak of economic misery in this country is almost impossible; the fact is that no one is starving. When people complain about inflation—it was at a rate of 7.5 percent last year and may be higher this year—it is in a vague manner and many are unable to cite specific ways in which they are being hurt.

Inflation—called "instability" in a country in which fantastic inflation in the 1920s was followed by monumental political excesses—has also led to a loss of confidence in the governing party, whose basic constituency through the years has been the labor unions.

When the contracts of the public employees' unions came up for renegotiation in February, Mr. Brandt, in the interest of keeping inflation under control, found himself in the position of opposing their demand for a 15 percent raise this year. Bus drivers, trash collectors and postmen went on strike for three days, quickly forcing the government into offering an 11 percent boost, which became the model for settlements in the private sector.

The anti-inflation policy of the Social Democratic government also led to a sharpening of conflicts between younger left-

wingers in the party and the moderate leaders. The left-wingers are one of the most important reasons for Mr. Brandt's loss of popularity and prestige over the winter, according to recent public-opinion polls.

The left-wingers do not see it that way. One, Dieter Berlitz, who acts as their spokesman in Munich, said:

"We do not think the conflicts in the party have done as much damage as the party's own failure to make good on its promises in the 1972 elections. Since 1972, we have had currency devaluations, which have made lots of imported products more expensive. Prices have gone up. Profits have gone up."

"But the unions were forced to back down when they tried to get pay increases to compensate for these things. In the oil crisis, the companies got what they wanted and the way we see it, it is no wonder there has been a loss of trust in the party from its traditional constituencies."

Indeed, because of fear of the left, fear of agitation in the universities, fear of the influence of Social Democratic radicals on the national course, there has been a general trend back to the Christian Democratic Union, which governed from the foundation of the Federal Republic in 1949 until 1969.

Whether the rather aimless defection is something the opposition can profit from is unclear.

The West German mood is uncertain at the moment, even in the estimation of those politicians profiting from it. There has been a tendency to conclude that the trend would soon mean the end of Mr. Brandt's mandate to rule. The loss of confidence people had in the future was a lack of confidence in him. Reaching this, his admirers say, he chose to bear the full burden and resign.

An Indian Untouchable Wants Back Her Golden Ring

By Bernard Weinraub

LUCKNOW, India (AP)—Lila Vati, a shy, illiterate, 20-year-old mother, yearns to have her golden ring returned by the police.

"It's all I have," she mumbles in Hindi, staring mutely at the floor. "I have nothing but my golden ring."

Lila Vati's father was a laborer and her husband owns a tiny stall that sells betel leaf and cigarettes. On good days, when he works until midnight, he earns a dollar to help support Lila Vati and the couple's two children, Rajendra, who is 3 years old, and 5-month-old Rajendra.

A like, graceful woman, Lila Vati says that two policemen stole her ring after attempting to rape her in the family shack. Her early efforts to recover the ring from the police station in the Lucknow suburb of Alambag, were marked by embarrassment and

humiliation over her low caste. She says that the police scoffed at her when she made her complaint. When she returned to the police station last month, she says, the police said that the record of her complaint had been lost.

Now Lila Vati has made a formal complaint to the Congress party in Lucknow, a move that required stubbornness, perhaps even courage, for a Harijan, or untouchable, woman. Her complaint, however, is not that the police sought to "take advantage" of her—such incidents occur too frequently in India—or that her police statement was quashed or even that the police had threatened to harm her if she pressed her allegations.

"All I want is my ring," she says. "Without my ring, I have no possessions. My husband's mother gave me the ring. It's a golden ring."

Lila Vati and her frightened husband, Ram Chandra, took the complaint to Chhet Lal Sathi, the general secretary of the Congress party committee in their state of Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Sathi is a lawyer who is committed to quelling the injustices done untouchables in the state, the largest in India.

Routine Case

"We get cases like this almost every day," said Mr. Sathi. "Here is a young woman, she is poor and low caste, people take advantage of her."

"In the villages it's worse because poor people, the landless, are harassed and annoyed by the police, the zamindars, or landowners, he said, adding: "Often the poor cannot use the same wells for water, or even walk in the same fields as the zamindars. Because of the poverty of their position, because of their ill-

eracy, these people are still the victims of terrible injustice in our society."

Mr. Sathi has phoned the police station officer, who nervously told the official of the ruling Congress party that an investigation would be made immediately. "I believe this woman's story," said Mr. Sathi. "Yesterday morning she walked five miles to come to my office with her husband and the two children. Then she walked home five miles in the night."

"Then she came here again this morning," said Mr. Sathi in English. "Look at her. She is weary. Her children are exhausted. Her husband is so scared. She wants the ring returned."

Lila Vati said that on the night of April 20 the two policemen came to her shack. Her husband was working at his stall, about one mile away. Her older son was ill. "Two days before the policemen came to me and annoyed

me," she says. "They laughed at me. They said I wasn't married to Ram Chandra. They said the children were illegitimate."

The woman, who spoke with her eyes facing the floor, recalled that the policemen sought to "take advantage" of her and threatened her if she screamed. "First they grabbed my ring," she says.

In the meantime, her husband had sent a friend to the shack to ask about the ill child. She says that when the friend knocked on the door, the policemen panicked. "I told my friend the child was all right, to go away," says Lila Vati. "Then the policemen left with my ring."

A young neighbor, known only as Biru, told Lila Vati to make a formal complaint to the police and accompanied her to the station. She says Biru, who is illiterate, was badly beaten up later in the week by the police.



Lila Vati with one of her children.

The New York Times.

Wins WCT Title

Newcombe Defeats Borg

ALAS, May 12 (AP)—John Newcombe burst the bubble of the 29-year-old Bjorn Borg of Sweden today, 4-6, 6-3, 6-3, 6-3 victory for the 29-year-old U.S. Open champion from Australia brought him a \$50,000 prize today in the Championship of Tennis but the kid left them a sore loser.

length hair and his assortment of shots, delighted a sellout crowd of more than 9,000 with the poise and aggressiveness of his attack. It was the same coolness that helped him beat Arthur Ashe (7-5, 6-4, 7-6) and Jan Kodeš (4-6, 6-4, 6-3, 6-2).

The big crowd today repeatedly gave Borg a standing ovation after exciting rallies which he often combined with a devastating top-spin forehand, or his two-flip backhand which he sent down the line with accuracy.

But Newcombe, holder of three Wimbledon, and two U.S. Open titles, wore down the Swede with power and perseverance.

The victory establishes the Australian as the world's No. 1 player—a position he felt he deserved last year even though the honor went to Romania's Ilie Nastase after Newcombe suffered a leg injury in the 1973 Grand Prix.



United Press International.
PURE SPEED—Ivory Crockett crosses the finish line in 100-yard dash with his hand raised, and a world record.

Crockett Sets 100-Yard Record

NEW YORK, May 12 (UPI)—Ivory Crockett, a 19-year-old sprinter, last night shattered the 11-year-old 100-yard dash record with a clocking of 9.3 seconds.

The previous record, set by Bob Hayes and later equaled by five other runners, was 9.5.

Crockett set the record in the Tom Black track and field classic here at the University of Tennessee. He was clocked at 9.3 by one judge, 9.6 by two others, 9.9 by a fourth and 9.94 by the electronic clock. There was a 100-yard race with 100 yards to go.

Reggie Jones, a freshman at Tennessee, placed second at 9.5. The 19-year-old runner was 100 yards to go.

"I think I was a little bit out of sync," Crockett said after the race. "All the way through the race I was the best that I've ever felt. This is a very good track."

With Dave Cowens, and Don Nelson doing most of the work, the Celtics held Jabbar without a point for an 18-minute stretch of the second and third quarters to go from a 20-20 tie to a 17-point lead.

Milwaukee rallied right after that, narrowing the margin to three points.

But the Bucks never could catch up and at Boston, led by Cowens, pulled away again in the opening moments of the fourth quarter to clinch the victory.

It was Boston's first title since 1969 and the first for the Celtics under coach Tom Heinsohn.

Jabbar scored 14 points in the first quarter. But then Boston began double-teaming him, using the bulky Cowens, Nelson and at times Paul Silas to keep the big man away from the basket and out of his normal shooting range. He managed only 12 points during the final three quarters for a total of 26.

Cowens led Boston with 23 points and spent most of the final quarter playing with five fouls.

In the dressing room everyone in sight got tossed into the showers and the champagne flowed. The memory of a nine-game losing streak was ancient history. The real Nets had won 23 of their last 25 games, including 12 of 14 in the playoffs.

"We got what we deserved," said Kevin Loughery, in his first season as Net coach.

"This is the greatest basketball thrill of my life. A championship! Gosh, I couldn't get it in 11 seasons of playing!"

The sellout crowd of 15,334 broke loose and smashed the glass backboards, tore down the ceiling and grabbed souvenirs of the team's first championship.

The victory didn't come easily. The Nets blew a 10-point lead in the third quarter and, with 4 minutes 46 seconds left in the game, Utah led, 95-94.

"So many times that trip to Utah was staring us in the face," said Erving, who was awarded a car by Sport magazine as the league's most valuable player of the season. "We had promised ourselves we were not going back. It just took us longer than we had thought."

The final few minutes saw the New Yorkers at their best. As the Stars, who had been shooting well, began to miss and turn the ball over, the Nets took advantage of every mistake. They outscored them, 16-4, with the youngest players, Keon and Williamson, providing the impetus that carried the team through the hectic last period.

Williamson finished with 15 points, eight in the final period. Kenon, clipped in with 23, including 10 in the final period.

"We can't play any better than we did," said Joe Mullane, the Utah coach.

Erving scored 20 points, hitting on eight of 18 shots. But he grabbed 16 rebounds to help give his team a 94-84 advantage off the boards.

The official announcement is expected to come from the IAAF Congress in Rome, Aug. 30-31, so the Chinese track and field team would be able to participate in the Pan-Asian Games in Tehran in September.

The decision is expected to stir controversy within the International Olympic Committee.

The source said a seven-man IAAF delegation, headed by its president, the Marquis of Exeter, would meet with representatives of Peking and Taiwan in London, July 13-14.

The source said Chinese authorities have given no indication whether they would compete at the Olympic Games in Montreal in 1976 if their status with the IOC were to be settled by then.

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